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formation of a committee contemplated in the resolution and I therefore accept the resolution on behalf of the Government."

The resolution was put and carried.

FORMATION OF A KARNATAKA PROVINCE.

* Mr. P. Siva Rao:—" Deputy President, Madam, I have the honour to move—

'*This Council recommends to the Government that urgent steps may be taken for the formation of a Karnataka Province comprising the Kanarese-speaking parts of the Madras and the Bombay presidencies and of Coorg.*'

" I see a similar resolution on the agenda which has been tabled by my hon. Friend Mr. Ranganatha Mudaliyar which stands as No. 14. That resolution stands thus:

'*This Council recommends to the Government to make representations to the Government of India for the early formation of a new province consisting of the Kanarese-speaking areas of the presidencies of Bombay and Madras.*'

"I need not labour this point. The hon. Members of this House are aware that the present distribution of provinces in India has absolutely no rational basis. It is also recognized that the present redistribution is merely due to accident and to circumstances attending the growth of British policy in India. It has absolutely nothing to do either with the geographical or historical or economic or linguistic reasons. It is also recognized, as the hon. Members of this House are aware, that, so far as practicable, this difficult task of redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis should be undertaken as early as possible, and it seems to me that it is an urgent problem. Our brethren of the Andhra country have already moved in the matter and, as a first step in this direction, they have had the Andhra University in their midst. I may also say that this question has been considered at the All-Parties Conference by the Nehru Committee and before it the claims of the Karnataka province were vigorously urged. They gave the following finding regarding the same: "As regards this question we cannot of course decide it finally but we feel that the advocates of unification have prima facie established their right." If I am asked to say which is the most important principle to be taken into consideration in the formation of a new province, I would answer most unhesitatingly language unity for more reasons than one. I may also say that no democracy can exist if a foreign language is largely used. It is but right that in all future provincial autonomous Governments the language of the particular province should be used as the medium in all offices, in all courts and in the Legislative Councils without which I do not think that we can make any substantial advance in the progress of the country. I may also say that this problem is frought with some practical difficulties if we want to form a Kanada province. It must depend upon the goodwill and consent of the other administrations, not merely the administration of Coorg, which is under the Government of India, but of the administrations of the Bombay Presidency also.

(At this stage the hon. Mr. President occupied the chair.)

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" Sir, the question again depends upon the consent and the wishes of the people who are distributed among these various tracts. All that I suggest now is that a prima facie case has been made out in favour of the formation of a Karnataka province. I therefore strongly urge that further steps in that direction may be taken and an expert committee may be appointed or a suggestion may be made to the Government of India for the appointment of such a committee to consider the details, the resources and finances of the proposed Karnataka province, to enable the Government to finally come to a conclusion in the matter. I am also aware that there is a further difficulty in the matter, for most of these Kannada-speaking tracts are in the Mysore territory and unless we agree to a federation of the Indian States and British India together, we cannot take Mysore into account. But these are the real and practical difficulties, but I daresay all this will be solved if only immediate steps are taken towards the appointment of an expert committee to enquire into the resources and as to whether the future Karnataka province would be self-supporting or not. As a matter of principle, it has been recognized on all hands that it is an excellent one and this has been carried out in practice by the Indian National Congress who have arranged their own provinces according to the linguistic basis. I may also say that the formation of the Andhra University is a tardy recognition of the same principle. With these few words, I move this resolution for the acceptance of the House."

Mr. A. RANGANATHA MUDALIYAR :—" Mr. President, Sir, I have very great pleasure in seconding the resolution moved by my hon. Friend Mr. Siva Rao. I submit that in regard to this matter there is no difference of opinion among the people. The National Congress gave recognition to the principle more than eight years ago. The National Convention which has brought into being and which framed an Act for Swaraj India in recognition of this principle incorporated this in its draft Bill. Again, Sir, the Nehru Committee went into the question carefully and have in unhesitating terms recognized the justice and equity of the formation of the province. Sir, in this matter, there is no question of Brahman or non-Brahman, if I may venture to refer to that. I had the honour of presiding over the Karnataka Unification Conference at Belgaum where people not only from Bombay and Madras presidencies but also from the other provinces were present. I could very well see the enthusiasm with which this idea was taken up and how assiduously it has been put before the country. Either from the point of view of finance or from the point of view of administrative convenience, there can be no objection whatsoever to the formation of a Karnataka province. With these words I second the resolution."

Mr. J. A. SALDANHA :—" Mr. President, on behalf of the people of South Kanara which forms part of the Karnataka province, I strongly support this resolution."

* Mr. MAHMUD SCHAMNAD SAHIB :—" Mr. President, Sir, I have great pleasure in supporting this resolution. As stated by my hon. Friend Mr. Ranganatha Mudaliyar, there is no communal question at all involved in this matter. This is a question in which all parties are agreed and the Kanarese-speaking population of this Presidency is in such an out-of-the-way corner that they find it very difficult to make themselves felt on the Government of this Presidency. It has also been proved by statistics that the financial resources of the Karnataka are more than sufficient for having a

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separate province. In the matter of the formation of separate provinces on a linguistic basis, the Nehru report has given this question of Karnataka province the first place in its report. The people of Karnataka also are very anxious and earnest to have a province of their own. They are determined to have their request carried out soon. I think that it is a fair request and it will be an injustice if the Government do not see their way to agree to this resolution."

Sriman BISWANATH DAS Mahasayo :—" Mr. President, Sir, I have very great pleasure in supporting the resolution moved by my hon. Friend from Bellary. I am only sorry that this resolution has come so late in the day. I expected my hon. Friends representing the Kanarese area to come earlier than 1929 to move the Council so as to recommend to the Government of India and the Secretary of State to enquire into the question of the Kanarese province. I must thank my hon. Friend for his having escaped the scrutiny of His Excellency the Governor because while moving for a separate Oriya province my motion had to face his disallowance and I was not allowed to have my motion discussed in this Council.

3-30 p.m. " Sir, it pains me that the Government of Madras, thick-skinned as it is, has not yet found its way to recommend the formation of provinces on a linguistic basis, i.e , the formation of a Tamil, a Telugu, a Kanarese and an Oriya province so far as this Presidency is concerned. In the memorandum that was published though not by themselves, but through the kindness of The *Hindu*, the Madras Government instead of supporting the idea of separate linguistic provinces have stood in the way. My hon. Friends who represented this House calling themselves the Indian Parliamentary Committee of Madras after a wonderful investigation, after two or three months spending the tax payers' money in thousands, have come to no conclusion on this important question. Sir, my submission to this hon. House is that no provincial autonomy, no self-government is worth having until and unless the people of one definite language are allowed to have a separate legislature for themselves and have the discussions in their legislature carried on in their vernacular. Sir, it is a great limitation on the hon. Members of this House to express their feelings, their views and to represent their constituents properly so long they transact business in English. Sir, the time will come when the ordinary ryot paying Rs. 10 or less or the adult after having attained the age of 24 or 25 will come and sit side by side with the so-called English educated literate members. I look forward to the day and believe that linguistic division of the provinces will make such things possible. This question of linguistic provinces has been the theme of authorities higher than this Madras Government ever since 1912. In the famous Coronation despatches of 1912, the Secretary of State and the then Governor-General of India Lord Hardinge laid down the principle that the time has come when India should be divided into autonomous provinces on a linguistic basis. Then, Sir, when the illustrious authors of the Montford Report after a close enquiry made their recommendations, they have also laid down in clear expressions how this division should be carried out with the consent of the people. Then, Sir, the Joint Select Committee who very deeply went into this question have laid down very clearly the procedure for effecting such a re-distribution. The Provincial Government, instead of aiding the formation of such provinces, I must sadly confess, have been the greatest sinners and abettors in blocking way towards this course. Sir, in this House

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we passed a resolution regarding a separate Andhra province and the Government were pleased to reply to certain interpellations that they have done nothing more than forwarding the discussions on the floor of this House. Nothing could be more shameful to a Government which calls itself responsible, which calls itself as the tutors of the people in the school of responsibility at heaviest price possible, than that. It is high time that hon. Members of this House should recommend the formation of a separate Kannada province, and that unanimously, without a voice of dissent. With these words, I wholeheartedly support the motion and I shall be very glad to see and congratulate my hon. Friends here if they have very soon a Karnataka province formed."

*The hon. Mr. A. Y. G. Campbell :—" Mr. President, Sir, I may perhaps first give the House some very few statistics relating to the distribution of the Kanarese-speaking population throughout India and particularly in this Presidency. The total Kanarese-speaking population in India is about 10,370,000. Of that population more than half is in Indian States. Mysore has four and a quarter and the Nizam's Dominions, one and a half millions. In Bombay Presidency, there are ?,400,000 and in Madras Presidency, 1,500,000, in Coorg, 73,000 and elsewhere 570,000. The figures I am quoting are from the census of 1921. Of the one and a half millions in this Presidency, the largest number of Kanarese-speaking people is in Bellary district where the figure is 480,000. The next district is Coimbatore with 260,000, next South Kanara with 220,000, out of a total population of 1,250,00. In Salem district there are 142,000, in Madura 115,000 and in Anantapur, 91,000. There is only one district in the Presidency without any Kanarese-speaking people and that is the district of Anjengo. (Laughter.) I take it that the proposal which the mover has in view is to take from this Presidency a portion of Bellary district and a portion of the South Kanara district or possibly the whole of it ; I am not sure whether it is his intention to include any portions of Coimbatore and Salem as well, but probably he does not intend to include any other part of the Presidency in the new province. An hon. Member opposite says that portions of Coimbatore and Salem are to be included in the new province. The hon. Mover of this resolution recognized the fact that an enquiry would be necessary before anything further could be done and he made the suggestion, though it is not in his resolution, that the Government of India should be asked to appoint an expert Committee to consider the details of resources and finances. It will indeed be necessary to have a very careful enquiry made before any proposal to form new provinces on a linguistic basis is accepted. There are various administrative and financial considerations in connection with the establishment of a new Government, a new Secretariat, a new High Court, new heads of departments and so forth and there are also other considerations such as social and economic and even historical and geographical, to be taken into account. All this would involve a considerable and long enquiry. In addition we have to consider what are the views of the inhabitants of the districts which are to be transferred to the new province. Hon. Members are well aware that in the South Kanara district and in the immediate neighbourhood there are more people who speak Tulu than there are people who speak Kanarese and it is probable that no area can be taken out of South Kanara which will contain only Kanarese-speaking persons. Similarly I doubt whether it is possible to carve out portions of Bellary, Salem and Coimbatore and include them in

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a Kanarese province without at the same time bringing in persons who do not speak Kanarese. The views of all those people will also have to be considered very carefully. Well, Sir, it may be found when an enquiry is made, that it is desirable to have a Kannada province but I do not feel we have before us now adequate material on which it is possible to base a considered opinion. I do not wish to give an opinion one way or the other. I would suggest, Sir, that as the questions whether it is desirable to form linguistic provinces in India and if so, what machinery should be provided to enable them to be formed, are now, I believe, under the consideration of the Statutory Commission, this seems to be hardly a suitable time to make a special enquiry with reference to a particular province. Furthermore, in view of the very large administrative changes we are expecting, as a result of the labours of the Statutory Commission, it seems undesirable to increase the difficulties of bringing in those reforms by at the same time endeavouring to carry out another very large measure of reform, a very important and independent measure of reform which is involved in the creation of new linguistic provinces. I think, therefore, Sir, that this is not a suitable time to take any measures for the establishment of such provinces in India."

Mr. A. Kaleswara Rao:—"Mr. President, the reply of the hon. Mr. Campbell is only an illustration of the way in which bureaucrats give replies. He admits that great administrative changes are going to come. He admits that the question of dividing India on linguistic basis and the question of setting up the machinery therefor is under the consideration of the Simon Commission. And yet, he states that this is not the time for passing a resolution of this nature. If the Government is not in a position to consider any of these questions now, it may then be said, it is too late, that the reforms have newly come and even though we put these questions before the British Parliament, they may not care to consider them. The very admissions of the hon. the Revenue Member show that this is the time when such questions ought to be considered by this House and an expression of opinion should be given. It is too late in the day to question about the utility or the necessity of dividing the country on a linguistic basis. It was Lord Hardinge's famous despatch that spoke of the United States of India on linguistic lines when he wrote of the change of capital from Calcutta to Delhi, and all political schools of thought have agreed that it is only by such a redistribution that real self-government can be established, that the government could be carried on by the people for the people. With these words, I beg to support the motion."

* Mr. A. B. Shetty:—" Mr. President, Sir, it is regrettable that the hon. the Revenue Member is not in favour of this resolution. He speaks of the many practical administrative difficulties which are in the way of the formation of a Karnataka province. The Government, Sir, have accepted the principle of redistributing provinces on a linguistic basis as is evident from paragraph 246 of the Montagu-Chelmsford report. And they have authorized the Viceroy in the Government of India Act of 1919, section 52-A, for forming new provinces on that basis, if the people of a particular area wished it. As has already been pointed out by many speakers here, there is an almost unanimous demand from the majority of people belonging to all classes and creeds in the Kanarese districts for the formation of a separate Karnataka province. A number of all-Karnataka Conferences have passed resolutions on this matter; several local boards and municipalities have made this demand

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and almost all the journals—we have about a hundred in the Karnataka districts—have written in support of this; Karnataka has been formed into a separate circle by the Nagpore Congress in 1920. A representative of the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee as well as of the Karnataka Unification Sabha put the case for Karnataka before the Nehru Committee and as the result of it that committee has been convinced of the reasonableness of the demand and they have recommended the formation of a separate Karnataka province. The geography, history and culture of Karnataka are all in favour of the demand for unification. The Madras Government are wrong in stating in their memorandum that Karnataka was never under one administration. It was only after 1565 that United Karnataka became split up into so many parts. Living as we do now under different administrations like that of Madras, Bombay and Coorg, we have little scope to come together for fostering our language, arts and traditions or for developing our resources. But if British Karnataka is united, it will stand equal to any other province with an area of 35,000 and odd square miles, a population of 63 lakhs and an income of 257 lakhs.

"It is regrettable that the Simon Committee, of which my hon. Friend Mr. Siva Rao was a Member, has not given its definite support to this demand. Probably it may be because the case was not put before them at all by anybody. We, Sir, the people who belong to the Kanarese districts are in a minority in Bombay as well as Madras. In Bombay they are 19 per cent and in Madras there are only 6 per cent Kanarese-speaking people. It is no wonder we are made to suffer in many ways. Our claims and our interests are neglected. Even in this Council we feel how helpless we are (A voice :—'What about Mr. Saldanha?') in spite of Mr. Saldanha. It has been pointed out that the unification of Karnataka is a practical proposition. The Kanarese-speaking districts are more or less contiguous. For administrative purpose they will form a fairly compact and convenient area and according to the opinion of the people who have made a study of the facts and figures concerning this question, this Karnataka province if formed will be financially self-supporting. When the hon. Dr. U. Rama Rao moved a resolution on this matter in the Council of State in February 1926, one of the replies of the hon. Member who was in charge of this subject was that this question had not been brought up in the local Legislative Council. I am glad we have found a very opportune time like this for bringing up this question to-day in this Council. We feel that the need for the unification of Karnataka is greater than the need for the formation of any other province, either the Andhra province or the Tamil province, because they form sufficiently big and compact areas and their development is not handicapped as our development is handicapped. I appeal, therefore, to the Members of this House to support this demand which is just and reasonable as well as patriotic and necessary in the interest of the country as a whole. So long as we continue to be scattered here and there and be a minority under the dominance of a majority in any province, we cannot act together effectively nor show ourselves at our best. Let the Government find out whether British Karnataka when united will not be a convenient administrative unit, financially self-supporting and with better scope for development and increased revenue." 3-45 p.m.

Mr. R. NAGAN GOWDA :—" Mr. President, Sir, the hon. the Revenue Member has not made out, I think, a case against the formation of a Karnataka

province. He said that the financial question would have to be considered. This resolution says that all things from a practical point of view should be considered. Sir, he considered only the financial question from the view-point of the Government. But, has the House not to consider the financial question involved in the large number of people from out-of-the-way places like Bellary and South Kanara coming all the way to Madras? The consideration of the money involved in the way, the travelling expenses and other things will have to be considered and not the additional expenses to the Government. I think this offsets any financial difficulties that the Government may feel. Sir, hitherto, till very recently in all the parts where Kanarese is spoken in Bellary they used to teach Telugu in the elementary schools, up to seven years ago. The hon. the Revenue Member mentioned the social and other aspects of the problem. I just want to say that in the long period during which some of these Kanarese parts have been along with Telugus, no Kanarese literature worth the name has been produced; and I cannot think any literature can come out if the Kanarese tracts continue as they are at present. With these words I support the motion."

* Mr. S. Arpudaswami Udayar :—"Mr. President, I do not want to damp the enthusiasm of my hon. Friends. I am sorry that my hon. Friend Mr. Shetty spoke of his community being very poorly represented. As for representation in this House, Sir, I think that, although it may appear small, nevertheless it is a fact that all the members of the community are very articulate. I will never stand in the way of my hon. Friend Mr. Nagan Gowda having facilities for developing Kanarese literature. But, Sir, there is one difficulty which I fear my friends have altogether overlooked. They have not taken into consideration the fact that this is a time of mass civilization, mass units, group movements, collective action. Economic aggregates Tamils, Telugus and Kanarese go and settle where they find occupation round some particular industrial countries. Even in the case of the Andhra University, while discussing the Bill for the University we found that some districts had to be cut off. Luckily for the Andhradesa there are at least half a dozen districts where the population is predominantly Telugu and where the language spoken is predominantly Telugu (Mr. G. Harisarvottama Rao: 'There are 13 such districts'). Anyhow, let us say there are ten districts, and I think that will satisfy my hon. Friend Mr. Harisarvottama Rao. I believe he represents a district in which both Kanarese and Telugu are spoken Sir, with regard to the Kanarese-speaking people they are not so very strong even in South Kanara, and many people there who have taken to speaking Kanarese were originally having Tulu as their language. My hon. Friend Mr. Saldanha is an anthropoligist and I speak subject to correction that is to say if I make a mistake, he is there to correct me. So even in South Kanara the Kanarese language is not the predominantly spoken language. In Bellary there are very many people who speak Telugu, and some of them speak Tamil. But apart from these two districts, there are no tracts in this Presidency which are predominantly Kanarese. In the two districts of Coimbatore and Salem which have been referred to, I think there are large numbers of people who speak Tamil. In such a case how are you going to form a Karnataka province out of such tracts? As regards Mysore, it is a Native State and we have nothing to do with the Native States as matters stand at present. If a proposition is to be assented to and be immediately made practicable and workable, certainly we should

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proceed on some principle. Especially in this age of mass civilization I do not think there is any use in forming a province of this kind."

* Mr. P. SIVA RAO :—" Sir, I need not detain the hon. Members of this House very long. I have carefully listened to the observations of the hon. the Revenue Member. He went on quoting statistics of the Kanarese-speaking population of every district, how they have been distributed throughout India. Even at the outset I have mentioned that we cannot take into account the Indian States. We have to exclude them for the present until probably we arrive at a stage in the development of India when we can have a federated India, which including Indian States is not now in sight at any rate. So, for the present I exclude these Kanarese-speaking people who reside in the Indian States. Even then, we have five millions of Kanarese-speaking people scattered throughout British India, and we can form a Karnataka province out of these tracts. One thing more I want to say. The hon. the Revenue Member was pleased to observe that the matter was before the Statutory Commission. Certainly I am aware of the fact that the matter is before the Statutory Commission for consideration. Even then, Sir, these deliberations will not go in vain. This will only strengthen the hands of the Statutory Commission in arriving at a decision one way or the other. Reference was made, Sir, to the report of the Madras Parliamentary Committee of which I have the honour to belong. No material was placed before us and no deputation waited on us in connexion with this matter (Voices: 'Oh, oh'), and we did not feel called upon to consider this matter when there was no material before us. They placed the whole set of materials before the Nehru Committee, and this matter was discussed in the Nehru report. That report also we have to consider. The Committee finds out that there is a strong prima facie case made out for the formation of a Karnataka province. Some of the hon. Members of this House are apprehensive that Coimbatore and Salem would be drafted into the Karnataka province. My resolution refers only to those districts or tracts where the language spoken is predominantly Kanarese. Bellary taken as a whole is such a district, but Coimbatore I do not think is one of those districts, nor Salem, and so, my hon. Friends from Coimbatore need not be afraid of the prospect of a Kannada province coming into being. If some Kanarese-speaking people are scattered here and there in any district, that is no reason why that district should be tacked on to the Kannada province. There are only three districts, Bellary, South Kanara and probably North Kanara and Coorg, and these are all predominantly Kanarese. I realize that this question cannot be solved at once, and I also observe that it must be preceded by a kind of economic and financial enquiries and also an equiry into the wishes of the people inhabiting these tracts. But some step has to be taken because a very strong case has been made out and it is for the Government to move further in the matter and recommend the appointment of an expert committee to ascertain the wishes of the people, and find out the resources of this Kannada province. With these words, Sir, I propose to press this resolution."

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" The question is

'*That this Council recommends to the Government that urgent steps may be taken for the formation of a Karnataka province comprising the Kanarese-speaking parts of the Madras and the Bombay Presidencies and of Coorg*'."

The resolution was carried.